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BOKASSA'S SUCCESSORS WILL HAVE TO STRAIGHTEN OUT ECONOMY

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 31 Oct 79 pp 22-23

[Article by special correspondent Siradiou Diallo: "The Remains of the Empire"]

[Text] Six weeks after Bokassa's fall, Bangui, his capital city, offers a strange, confusing, and highly colorful view. In the immediate aftermath of the events of 20 and 21 September, the coats of arms, monuments, and symbols, proud signs of the past of the Bokassian empire, were torn off, plundered, destroyed, and wrecked by a raging mob.

Only bits remain of the throne shaped as an eagle, an alloy of gold and bronze weighing two tons, 3.5 meters high, and 4.5 meters wide, the work of French sculptor Olivier Brice. The pieces are sold by raggedy children to tourists who are more stupefied than reluctant. A gilded bronze feather may be purchased (there were 800 on the throne) for 200 CFA francs (four French francs).

Twisted and broken, the carriage which carried the emperor on 4 December 1977 from Renaissance Palace to the sports stadium (renamed for the occasion to Crowning Palace) is lying in a gutter washed by the reeking waters of Lakouanga District. The carriage of the empress, reduced to the same state, is used as a go-cart by children in another district in the capital. As to the carriage used by imperial princes, it was bought at a street corner from precociously business-oriented urchins for 25,000 CFA francs (500 French francs). The lucky purchaser, head of a foreign diplomatic mission and collector of historical objects, intends to ship it back someday to his own country as a reminder of the exciting time spent in Bangui.

In the very center of the capital city, workers perched on fire trucks, are carefully removing the huge plastic eagles hanging on concrete arches of triumph which rise across the main arteries of the city. At Place Valery-Giscard-d'Estaing, bits of a full-size bronze statue of Bokassa litter the ground. The same applies to the emperor's head erected one kilometer away, facing the statue of Barthélemy Boganda, the father of Central African independence. However, the bare pedestals, silent witnesses of the vanity

of the fallen emperor, remain standing, adding yet another feature to the desolate view presented by Bangui.

On the bank of the Oubangui, Kolongo palace is nothing but a series of empty rooms, stripped of furniture, hangings, and light bulbs. Everything possible has been torn off and taken away. This flower of imperial residences, with its fountains and water jets and palm trees is merely a shadow of its prestigious past. Decorations on the ceilings, bathtubs in pink marble, and other gadgets which could not be torn off still extensively show the splendor of this palace which was the favorite residence of Bokassa and of Marshal Gabriella, his Romanian spouse. Apparently, it was precisely there that he spent his last night on Central African soil, before taking off, on 18 September, on his fatal trip to Libya. The crocodiles which lived in the pond at the entrance were killed assegais, sliced, and eaten by the celebrating crowd.

With its tens of empty rooms which the wind from the river blows, its gaping walls and ceilings from which a few vestiges of gilded panelings still hang, and its magnificent bathtubs, Kolongo has become a ghost palace with floors covered with scattered documents. Here one can walk on Gabriella's birth certificate or of that of Marie-Ange, one of Bokassa's many daughters. Further along, one may step on the letter of an ambassador sniveling for more funds to operate his office; flying in the wind would be a letter written by a foreign business man offering his earnest services to the emperor. The halls, bedrooms, and boudoirs have been invaded by strange piles of torn and crumpled documents, dirtied by all this trampling. Anything may be found here, from harmless manuscripts authored by the emperor to factual documents.

Still standing, not far from the private premises, are the hangars which contained the small personal enterprises of the ex-emperor: nail factory, button factory, etc. All that is left of these enterprises are the huge machines which could not be carried away because of size and weight. The lawns are covered with spare parts, various materials, pieces of bidets, bathtubs, and taps, whereas several Mercedes, covered with dust, remain in the garages. Needless to say, those in running condition have disappeared and are feeding a blossoming second-hand market. . . even beyond the Central African borders.

Conversely, hundreds of BMW motorcycles, imported from Germany on the occasion of the crowning, were rescued. They are lined up, in impeccable order, in an administrative garage facing the huge white building of the Soviet Embassy. The same applies to purebred horses, costing millions of francs, imported from Auge, in Normandy (France). True, watching them peacefully graze the grass of the racecourse in Bangui, in the immediate vicinity of a military engineer's camp, one is embarrassed by seeing those beautiful animals thin, not to say looking like skeletons.

Conversely, in Berengo, Bokassa's black dog which welcomes the visitors at the entry of the imperial domain, has lost no weight at all. Strangely, the

soldiers guarding the area claim, "He has stubbornly refused to eat ever since the loss of his master, yet remains fat." The moment the gate opens the dog rushes forth, hoping to see Papa Bok. Faced with a stranger, he turns back disappointed and depressed, goes into a corner from which he watches, disillusioned, the comings and goings of the visitors. It is a strange animal. Now it is the only one of all the members of the Berengo court to have kept his entire loyalty for the fallen emperor. This should be remembered by the mighty of this world. They should keep around them more dogs than courtesans!

Anyway, the private apartments in Bangui have remained intact. Thus, the Louis XIV hall, where Empress Catherine received her visitors, has lost nothing of its splendor. Even her favorite odds and ends have been kept: a Roman she-wolf, gift of the president of the Republic of Italy, a small statue of Bonaparte on horseback, magnificent Chinese vases, one of which still carries the price label: 7,000 Swiss francs (900,000 CFA francs). However, Bokassa's personal documents have been put through a fine sieve and taken away, properly protected, by French paratroopers. Tons of weapons and munitions piled up in the basement of the palace are being progressively carted to the French Embassy in Bangui. "It will take months to haul all this," we were told by a Central African officer.

From those same basements some 10 corpses and five survivors were also removed. According to someone familiar with the area, those were soldiers imprisoned and forgotten in this underground prison, as Bokassa frequently did." All plants around the residence (coffee bean processing, carpetry, textiles, Gramophone records. . .) are all idle. The small personnel houses are totally abandoned, with their doors half open, as though a cyclone had blown over Berengo. Today a heavy silence weighs on this estate which was once active like a bee hive, giving a desolate atmosphere to the entire area.

Bokassa's successors to the leadership of the country will find it hard to erase all the remnants of 14 years of Bokassa reign, restore order in the affairs of the ex-emperor, redress the financial situation, and rebuild a totally paralyzed economy, particularly if the new leaders do not quickly achieve a national reconciliation, unity, and political harmony, which is an indispensable base for the rebirth desired by all Central Africans.

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PRESIDENT DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

Presence of French Troops

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 26 Oct 79 pp 1-4

[Report of interview of president of Transitional National Union government by French journalist at president's home 24 October: "President of Transitional National Union Government to a French Journalist: 'FROLINAT Came To Power Under Peculiar Circumstances'"]

[Text] The president of the Transitional National Union government, Mr Goukouni Oueddei, granted an interview to Elio Camarin, reporter for the Paris daily LIBERATION, at the president's home on Wednesday.

The major themes discussed were the application of the principal objectives listed in the platform of the Chadian National Liberation Front [FROLINAT], as well as relations between our country and France and the difficulties on the road to national reconciliation.

When questioned on the way in which he planned to carry out the profound changes called for in the FROLINAT platform, president Goukouni Oueddei observed that the Chadian National Liberation Front had come to power under peculiar circumstances, and that each country embodies particular, national, concrete specific conditions, which any movement must carefully take into account at each step in its struggle.

"This being the case," President Goukouni Oueddei continued, "I can assure you that the fundamental objectives for which we fought have not changed: What is called for is, essentially, a response to the profound aspirations of the broad Chadian masses.

"We know," the chief of state continued, "that for a country like ours this implies, notably, profound structural transformations. But experience teaches us that the way of achieving this has not been mapped out once and for all, and that nobody is able to predict historical evolution precisely, even with the best tools of analysis available."

According to President Goukouni Oueddei, a militant must take into account all the facts as they are, and must determine at each stage some concrete, precise tasks which will, in combination, bring about the necessary conditions for achieving the final goal.

"At the present stage," the chief of state continued, "we think that the first priority is for the people of Chad to achieve peace, so as to maintain and consolidate national union. That is what we are working on with all our strength," he affirmed with vigor.

When questioned on the subject of Chad's economic, political and military dependence on France during the last 20 years, and on the chances of establishing radically different relations between the two countries, President Goukouni Oueddei recalled Chad's historical past as a French colony. "This implied relations between the dominated and the dominating: That is obvious," he conceded.

"Since our nominal national independence," Mr Goukouni Oueddei added, "these old structures have not been seriously shaken. It is not up to me to tell you whether France is going to change its policy toward us," said the chief of state. "On the other hand, I can tell you that the people of Chad wish to have relations with the people of France according to principles of mutual interest and respect. As far as we are concerned, we will always defend the interests of our country," said President Goukouni Oueddei.

On the subject of the presence of French troops in Chad, and their provisional maintenance in Ndjama, President Goukouni Oueddei expressed regret that public opinion throughout the country should unfortunately be frequently ill-informed.

On this matter he reaffirmed that "All Chadians consider the presence of French troops on national soil an intolerable violation of national sovereignty. That is the reason why," he continued, "the Lagos accords specify, among other things, that French troops must be evacuated from Chad. But at the same time recent events have created problems of security which require the presence of neutral African forces for their resolution. For the formation of a national government which would accomplish a normalization of national life would be dependent upon a combination of certain conditions.

"But for reasons that are easy to imagine," the chief of state added, "our brothers in the Congo, Benin and Guinea, who have consented, according to the principles of African solidarity, to furnish these volunteer forces, have not been able to do so rapidly.

"That is why," said President Goukouni Oueddei, "I have asked the French Government to postpone the evacuation of troops stationed in Ndjama, pending the establishment of a neutral African force.

"I have already had numerous occasions to say that, in so doing, I was violating neither the spirit nor the letter of the Lagos accords, and that the last French contingents would leave as soon as a Transitional National Union government had been formed, which I hoped would be soon."

Questioned, finally, by our colleague from LIBERATION on the difficulties which still impede national reconciliation, President Goukouni Oueddei observed: "It would be astonishing if, after everything that we have gone through, there were no difficulties on the road to reconciliation of the sons of Chad." On this subject he deplored a tendency to dramatize things.

"I personally do not give credence to any preparations for revenge by any party, and I remain confident in our capacity to surmount all obstacles to achieve our objectives," he concluded. (ATP)

Swiss Television Interviews Goukouni

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 30 Oct 79 pp 1, 2

[Text of interview of President Goukouni on Swiss television, date not given]

[Question] 1. Your Excellency, what, in your opinion, were the causes of the fratricidal Chadian war?

[Answer] In outline, one can say that the fundamental cause of this war was an anachronistic system inherited directly from colonialism and bearing within it all injustices. This system, already antipopular, was maintained and even reinforced by the selfishness and blindness of our postindependence leaders. The oppressed Chadian people had no other way of expressing their demands for welfare and justice than to take up arms.

[Question] 2. According to you, who are the guilty ones in this war?

[Answer] They are undoubtedly all those who did not wish to take into account the aspirations of the broad Chadian masses, and who stubbornly persisted, through many long years, in imposing upon them a system of injustice, with its accompaniment of oppression and repression.

[Question] What solution do you see for the Chadian problem?

[Answer] The general solution is to be found in the accords signed by all Chadian parties in Lagos, and which we should now begin to apply. These accords have been published; you can therefore consult them.

What must be done is, of course, first to achieve peace, in order to safeguard national unity; then we must defend and practice a policy consistent with the real interests of the Chadian people.

[Question] What are the obstacles to an immediate solution?

[Answer] There are still a few difficulties to surmount, but I am convinced that we will succeed.

[Question] 5. Why these strange, incomprehensible reversals in alliances?

- a. The French have fought against you; and today?
- b. Qadhdhafi has given you military assistance?
- c. Alliances and splits within the FROLINAT?

[Answer] It is true that France, a colonialist country, maintained for a long time, even after Chad's independence, a regime against which we fought. To do this we had to seek the necessary help wherever it could be found. What is more normal?

What was important for us, you must understand, was to defend, by every means, the sacred interests of the Chadian people, for whom FROLINAT is the militant vanguard.

Meanwhile, problems of varying gravity have developed--very naturally, if I may say so--within our movement. But these problems, despite all the uproar they have caused, particularly among our enemies, have remained secondary to the common goal of the struggle against dictatorship and misery. I therefore think that I'm not exaggerating when I say that the essentials have remained secure.

[Question] 6. In a confrontation with Libya, who will be your ally?

[Answer] Chad is a peace-loving country which is not looking for confrontations with any country. On the contrary, it is planning to maintain and strengthen friendly, fruitful relations with all countries attached to peace and justice.

But it is true that the Chadian people are very jealous of their independence, and that they will be prepared, under all circumstances, to undergo all sacrifices necessary to its defense. (ATP)

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STATISTICS ON 1980 DRAFT BUDGET GIVEN

Brazzaville ETUMBA in French 20 Nov 79 p 3

/Article: "Draft Budget, Fiscal 1980: 86,020 Billion CFA Francs"

/Text/ It was on Tuesday, 13 November 1979 that the draft budget was presented to the Popular National Assembly, which had met for this purpose at the Brazzaville town hall. At this time, Comrade Louis Sylvain-Goma, head of the government, prime minister, and member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the PCT /Congolese Labor Party/, stated:

"The budget that you are going to examine meticulously is, as it has been termed by the Central Committee, a crisis and austerity budget. The reasons for this crisis lie, as you know, in the extraverted nature of our economy and in our weakness in administration.

"The formulation of this budget takes account of the international situation and is based on the main orientations of Congress.

"The 1980 draft budget, balanced in receipts and expenditures at 86.02 billion CFA francs, is comprised of two major parts: the operating budget and the investment budget. It does not yet take into account administrative decentralization. Research on this important, urgent question is continuing and will be submitted for approval in your next session.

"The operating budget, fixed at 69.8 billion CFA francs, shows an increase of 9,001,375,000 francs, of 14.8 percent, compared to fiscal 1979. It does not include any loan receipts. More than half, or 35 billion, comes from petroleum taxes and royalties. The remainder is derived from customs receipts at the rate of 15.4 billion; from taxes, 17.6 billion; from property and services, 1.6 billion.

"These financial resources, although increasing nominally, are still insufficient for our minimum needs. These have been affected in the following manner:

"Personnel expenses alone cover 35.7 billion, or 51.71 percent of the total. This translates into an increase of 4 billion CFA francs, that is, 12.8

percent compared to the 1979 estimates. This budget entry is bound to increase in future years, given the massive influx of young cadres at the end of their training. This worrying situation dooms our attempts to make a success of the economic recovery and revival.

"The national debt is expected to be 10,784,000,000. This entry, which takes into account the results of negotiations concluded with various partners, shows a firm wish to honor our commitments.

"The transfer expenses amount to 13,611,000,000, mostly (5 billion) assigned to support training.

"Finally, the expenses for material and common costs, which have been reduced to a strict minimum, are only 6,746,958,000 respectively.

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SOVIET, SPANISH, MOROCCAN RELATIONS NOTED

Libreville L'UNION in French 18, 19, 20-21 Oct 79

[Article by Jean Bilinga: "Equatorial Guinea"]

[18 Oct 79 p 5]

[Text] I. The Paradox of the Soviet Trend

The wind had scattered the threatening clouds over the city, at dawn, and the heat had reached the ground despite a light breeze blowing from the ocean. At La Paz (peace) stadium in Malabo, several thousand people, young and old, peasants, nuns, officials, and soliders were closely listening to the speech-program delivered by Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, dressed in an olive-green uniform.

The speech which lasted nearly two hours was a model of realism and pragmatism. Avoiding all revolutionary or emphatic vocabulary, the new chief of state, officially invested two days before, on Wednesday, 10 October, clearly outlined the new options of the new system, after drawing a dramatic and negative balance of 11 years of absolute dictatorship, shameful nepotism, and assassinations, raised to the institutional level.

In the field of foreign policy, the Supreme Military Council will base its activities on the "principles of international law, peaceful coexistence, and respect for conventions and support of United Nations and OAU charters." In practical terms, such general statements will be translated immediately into a full opening to all countries willing to cooperate on an equitable basis with the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

Plunging into the heart of the matter, Lt Col Teodoro Obiang Mbasogo expressed his "disappointment of the indifferent attitude" of other countries. Citing more specifically, the fishing agreement concluded on the basis of a decree-law between Macias Nguema and the Soviet government, which "is not satisfactory to the Guinean people," he announced that this unequal treaty would be imminently revised.

Hearing this, the crowd spontaneously shouted "Russo, no!, Russo, no!," which characterized the population's state of mind. At the marketplace we

looked at the frozen fish, the "chicharro" (chinchard, a variety of bonito) delivered by the Soviet tugs at the theoretical rate of 4,000 tons per year, while mackerel, tuna, sardines, and tasty thread-fins are shipped to the Soviet consumers.

This dark-colored fish, hated by the population, has been its food for a number of years, the entire cottage fishing industry having been forbidden by the "blood thirsty," in his fear that the population would leave the country. These 4,000 tons are in contrast with the 12,000 tons fished by the population in 1967, before the advent of the dictator.

This abnormal agreement virtually guaranteed fishing monopoly to the 50 Soviet vessels docking in turn in Luba Bay (formerly San Carlos). A number of trawlers were anchored along the piers at the time that our airplane was flying over the water; in the garden city with its pleasant climate the cottages of the technicians stood out, clean and orderly.

This was a discreet base for multiple use which in 1975 might have been used for deliveries of arms and munitions shipped to the Angolan allies in Luanda; a tranquil port which might have also seen the unloading of Bulgarian and Czechoslovak light arms two months before the coup d'etat.

In an exclusive interview granted to us on Saturday, 13 October 1979, Florencio Maye Ela, minister of foreign affairs, told us that a Guinean committee had been set up to "revise the fishing agreement."

"We are giving the Soviets a last chance," he insisted. In the case of a disagreement the agreement will be purely and simply abrogated, for, according to the vice president, the promise to install refrigerated premises has not been kept since it was made in 1973.

In addition to water resources (the agreement, nevertheless, banned fishing in territorial waters), the Soviet Union was supposed to receive a high percentage of the cocoa beans cultivated with the help of forced labor brought here through military power from Rio Muni and the distant island of Annobon.

However, Macias Nguema stubbornly refused to deliver tungsten and cobalt to his allies and demanded \$75,000 (16.5 million CFA francs) for "damages caused to the mountain" by malfunctioning Soviet equipment. As it were, relations between Moscow and Mongomo subsequently worsened, as China gradually took over from its opponent by providing technical and agricultural aid more profitable to the population.

Relations worsened to such a degree that as of 1977 Moscow opened an embassy in Sao Tome and Principe as a fallback position. The paradox of the Soviet friend was that it had fallen from grace in the eyes of the dictator, that in all likelihood, it had provided logistic support for the coup d'etat, and that it is continuing to go down while Spain, "outsider" is rising.

Meanwhile, the three weekly Aeroflot Tupolev-154 flights were taking back "experts" and fishermen from the Malabo Airport, delivering an ever declining amount of goods to Equatorial Guinea.

[19 Oct 79 p 5]

II. Spanish Rediscovery

The moment the success of the "pronunciamiento" was announced, civilian and military aircraft began landing in large numbers on Bioko Island, a previously almost desert island. A Spanish Hercules C-130, hired in Madrid by Ambassador Juan de Andrada, literally moved the local population which was all too happy to finally return to its native villages after several years of deportation and forced labor in the cocoa and coffee plantations of Bioko as the result of the expulsion of 45,000 Nigerian farm workers.

The president firmly put Spain in a favorable light in the course of the 12 October 1979 political meeting, stating that "Equatorial Guinea will give a preferential treatment to Spain, hoping that the Spanish contribution will be as good as that of the other countries."

Those words must have greatly pleased Spanish Finance Minister Jose-Luis Leal who had come to participate in the ceremonies of the occasion of the national holiday, bringing the excellent news that Madrid was granting a loan of \$10 million (2.2 billion CFA) repayable over a period of 20 years, for rebuilding the Guinean economy, as well as an emergency food aid totaling \$2 million (440 million CFA).

This was the peak of a massive assistance which began the first week of the assumption of power by the Supreme Military Council. It was the result of skillful coordination, Madrid having been warned by someone close to Teodoro Obiang of the imminent coup d'etat

At the time of the putsch, Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister Marcelino Oreja was in Rio (Brazil); he summoned the press the moment Macias Nguema escaped, and proclaimed the satisfaction of the Spanish government which quickly recognized the new regime, as announced by Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez.

On Sunday, 5 August, the director general for African affairs, Pedro Lopez Aguirre Bengoa was already in Douala. On Monday he reached Malabo, while Juan de Andrada, the accredited ambassador to Equatorial Guinea left several days later, via Libreville, following the secretary of state for foreign affairs.

As early as Friday 10 August, an Iberia charter plane brought to Malabo 33 tons of food, various utensils, pharmaceuticals, and vaccines, as the population was suffering epidemics of whooping cough, poliomyelitis, measles, and Guinea-worm. About 15,000 children were vaccinated immediately, as Juan de Andrada indicated.

Several days later another airplane, bringing goods worth 20 million pesetas (64 million CFA) landed in Malabo, followed by other shipments. In order to regularize this aid, which was not to be considered charity, the Spanish authorities decided to sell the merchandise through the intermediary of a wholesaler in Malabo at prices which the needy could afford.

The population rushed to the "tiendas" and "factorias" (shops) which contained scarce supplies of Chinese goods, mostly cigarettes, beer, light bulbs, candy, etc., looking for pastry, shoes, and clothing made in Spain.

Currently a Spanish oceanographic ship is plying Guinean waters. Its mission is to survey fishing and biological resources. This nutritional study of the needs of the population will determine, in addition to the consumption of root crops (carbohydrates), palm oil (fats) and vitamins (fruits) the amount of protein of which the country is still drastically short.

The Spanish government intends to pay in proteins (meat, fish) the fees which will be owed by the Spanish fishing vessels. The minutes of this original agreement may be initialed by the end of October in Madrid.

Vice president Florencio Maye Ela confirmed, passing by the capital, that at least three Spanish fishing companies were interested in fishing in Guinean waters.

Dry docks, repair shipyards, refrigerated premises, and premises for rotating crews manning the trawlers will be part of this maritime panoply agreed upon by the two parties. The Spanish government will call for bids and cash the funds, guaranteeing payments to Malabo.

Subsequently two shipping lines may be set up linking Mediterranean Europe with the Atlantic, with a terminal in Libreville. On this subject, Lt Cmdr Maye Ela said that the only Guinean vessel will become part of this commercial line immediately after its overhaul.

In addition to the area of primary and secondary schooling, for which purpose Spanish teachers will come to reorganize education in Equatorial Guinea, scholarships for the training of secondary and technical personnel will be granted to young Guineans (seamen, mechanics, pilots).

In a more land-oriented area, yet just as crucial, the Spanish police will deliver 10 sophisticated vehicles, two of which were already in the country in mid-October, with advisers for the administrative services. On a more discreet basis the Spanish army will watch over the general staff and coordinate presidential security with Morocco, the African newcomer.

[20-21 Oct 79 p 7]

III The Moroccan Rapprochement

A communist country, the Soviet Union, a Western country, Spain, and an African country, Morocco, play a primary role in the circles close to the power in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

As to Gabon, it has loyally remained a "fraternal country," as stated by President Teodoro Obiang himself; actually, the recent mission undertaken by Minister of State Georges Rawiri represents (according to the official communique of the Council of Ministers, dated Wednesday, 17 October 1979) "one of the elements of a series of measures promulgated by the president" Omar Bongo in favor of Equitorial Guinea.

The Gabon-Guinea file will be subjected to a subsequent close study, focusing on the drama of the refugees living in Gabon. In this third part of the article, we shall now discuss the Morocco-Guinea rapprochement.

This rapprochement was manifested, first of all, with the participation of elements of the Cherifien police in maintaining order in the course of the trial of dictator Macias Nguema and the attendance of Moroccan ambassador to Libreville Mohammed Driss Alaoui at the national holiday ceremonies.

Whereas Macias had officially recognized the Saharaoui Democratic Arab Republic as a territorial entity with its own government and population, it appears that since the coup d'etat the Supreme Military Committee has had a different opinion. The proof is that in his programmatic speech delivered last week on the occasion of the national holiday, while expressing the hope that the problem of Western Sahara would be resolved peacefully, President Teodoro Obiang, nevertheless, concluded with the statement that, "We support the struggle launched by the fraternal Moroccan people in the defense of the unity and integrity of its territories."

5157

CSO: 4400

REPORT ON PROGRESS OF ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION

Paris LE MONDE in French 6, 7 Nov 79

[Article by Jean-Claude Pomonti: "Ethiopia Regains Control"]

[6 Nov 79, p 5]

[Text] I. A Central Government Restored

Still faced with wars in Eritrea and the Ogaden, which the DERG [Provisional Administrative Military Council] has not been able to end despite massive Soviet and Cuban military aid, Ethiopia has restored its central government--backed by one of the strongest armies on the African continent.

In this two-article series, our special envoy, back from a trip to Ethiopia, tells of that country's recovery and the tremendous obstacles it still has to overcome.

In September, Ethiopia's military regime celebrated its fifth anniversary, and President Mengistu took the occasion to announce that the establishment of a labor party was currently under review. So doing, he confirmed that the revolution in the former Abyssinian Empire had entered a new phase--one of stabilization after the bloody years of internal strife and armed insurrection at Ethiopia's borders.

Diksis (Arussi Province). On the edge of the Rift Valley, 215 kilometers southeast of Addis Ababa, fields of wheat, teff and malt are interspersed between large fields of Maize. The dark earth of these rolling plains is hard, but rich. And the villages built on the mountain's crest, sprinkled with Eucalyptus, are typical of the Ethiopian countryside, which the rains had adorned in undulating green.

Diksis is situated at the heart of the "Red Arussi," whose peasants had revolted at the beginning of 1974, after having been the victims of massive

expropriations. According to the writer Addis Alemayehu, writing at the time of the revolt, the peasants--literal serfs-- stated among their grievances that it was "better to go hungry than to offend the lord." The "Blessed Lord's" reply was eloquent: "Serfs do not like the weak.... If you have strong arms, you can milk them until your bucket runs over. They can act very arrogant when dealing with weak and fearful people. But they can be conquered by someone determined and courageous. In the last resort, they pay what is asked of them."

On this land roamed by Oromo horsemen, with their monkey-skin headdresses and tiny horses with embroidered saddles, more than half the population, under the imperial regime, lived as serfs who prostrated themselves on the ground when the lord passed by. The changes introduced by the Addis Ababa military junta, the DERG, have not been universally felt, as Diksis is a model State farm. But they do show what is possible in Ethiopia. Today, 27,000 hectares of former pasture or fallow land are being farmed by 833 farm workers helped, during the harvest season, by 500 seasonal workers. A road 65 kilometers long, and usable in all weather, connects the farm with the road to Asela, chief town of the province. The current harvest, explains the manager, Alemayehu Makonnen, will total 40,000 tons of wheat and 10,000 tons of malt. Part of the profits will be reinvested in housing for the workers--whose families are still in the village--and in community services (hospital, school, meeting hall, shops and so forth).

Ethiopia's Best Face

It seems very far removed, here, from the Ethiopia of the "red" and "white" terrors and the wars still bloodying Eritrea and, though to a lesser degree, the Ogaden. Seeing Diksis is seeing Ethiopia's best face. For the 285 families who formerly led a nomadic existence here and raised a few straggly head of cattle, a center has been established. The State began development of 480 hectares of crops in order to encourage the most reluctant of the peasants to participate in the experiment. To date, only half the families have accepted the relocation. "We are convinced that the others, who sometimes went as far as 150 kilometers away, will return when they realize it is in their own best interests," we were told by Gelleta Gemechu, assistant administrator of the province. The government, he added, has reserved some 600 hectares for this purpose, "enough to sustain 600 families."

The Diksis farm is part of a group of five State farms managed by the Agricultural Development Corporation of Arussi and Bale. The functioning of these farms is far from perfect. At Diksis, the tractors sent from East Germany--traded for coffee, which will then be sold to the West--are not very usable. The tractors are not suited to the Ethiopian soil, and it takes 6 months to get replacement parts. And only 18 months after its construction, the road needed to be repaired. But, with the support of the development campaign launched in February, and following Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu's visit to the southern part of the country, Ethiopia seems to have laid the foundations for a much more vigorous agricultural

program than the one which existed under the empire. Efficiency and socialism: the DERG partisans seem to see a complementarity between these two terms, even in the rural sector. In June, they felt it was time to launch--in the form of a rather flexible "directive"--the idea of agricultural cooperatives.

A President Heeded

In Addis Ababa itself, the atmosphere has changed dramatically since our last visit, in 1977. No more gunfire at night; and if a curfew is still maintained, it is to stop delinquency and prostitution. The haunting memories of the "red" and "white" terrors of that time are fading. People no longer talk about the bloody reprisals between the EPRP /Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party/ and the MEISON /Pan Ethiopian Socialist Party/. The first, which was totally opposed to the DERG, fell victim to merciless repression. After helping the military regime set a theme for its socialist government--especially with the "Democratic National Revolution" proclaimed in April 1976--the second was knocked from power, due as much to its excesses as to its desire to take the power back from the military at the time when Ethiopia's territorial integrity was the most threatened.

Gone also are the "red marches" on Eritrea--which had failed so lamentably--and the "campaigns" forcing students to go to the provinces. If, in the north, the militia is still cannon fodder on Ethiopia's front lines, at least it is under military command. The management of worker unions and peasant associations has also been reorganized: they, too, have fallen into line. The chaotic Ethiopia of parallel hierarchies has given way before a military government and an army greatly strengthened by the USSR and Cuba. Soviet heavy military equipment is everywhere. Some 4,000 Soviet experts--mostly military--and about 15,000 Cuban soldiers have made Ethiopia one of the strongest military powers on the continent.

On the political level, this has meant a giant step forward in harmony and reconciliation. It still is not known who really pulls the strings of power in the Provisional Administrative Military Council (the DERG). Or if there are 10, 20 or 30 people assisting Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu. After the elimination of Generals Andom and Teferi Bente, and then of Lieutenant-Colonel Atnafu Abate, President Mengistu seems to be the chief mate on board. But we still don't know all the forces involved--as was the case in June, during the stormy session held in Addis Ababa--behind closed doors, as usual--to assess the military campaign in Eritrea.

The veritable enthronement of the head of the DERG took place in September 1978, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the deposal of Emperor Haile Selassie. Standing beside Fidel Castro, who had come to offer his support for the regime, he passed in review the formidable military arsenal provided by the Russians. Since then, signs, slogans and editorials have tirelessly praised the guide of the Ethiopian revolution. He does not seem to be extremist or bloodthirsty. Rather, it can be said of this

remarkable tactician, who is both pragmatic and merciless and possesses tremendous physical courage, that he is dominated by the thirst for revenge typical of an officer of humble beginnings. He has never spared any effort when it comes to defending Ethiopia's territorial integrity, or his egalitarian vision of society. Neither has he encouraged the excesses of the MEISON or of Atnafu Abate, the regime's former number 2 man, killed in 1977, who will probably always be remembered as the "butcher" of the Ethiopian revolution.

The fact remains that, during the past year, a sort of personality cult has been developing around this leader, whose title has finally taken on some real meaning. The closer one gets to Addis Ababa and the inner sanctum of the central government, the more the lieutenant-colonel seems to be both the source of momentum and of paralysis, because of the reverential fear he inspires in everyone. Certainly, orders are eventually carried out--probably for the first time in many years--but local initiative is discouraged. In a climate of demobilization, conceivable after so much suffering and upheaval, the man who is looking more and more like a "Red King" has restored the authority of the central government. "That being so," remarks a diplomat, "as long as civil servants stay quietly in their corner, no one will bother them." Ethiopia, after years of anarchy, is finally being governed once again.

Certain of the results obtained are very positive. In the literacy campaign launched in July, Moscow gave Ethiopia 6,000 radio sets, 500 motorcycles and 35 tons of paper. But above all, the government is relying on Ethiopian ingenuity to teach some 20 million people from ages 10 through 60 to read and write. In an Addis Ababa music school, changed into a workshop for the occasion, any and all materials are being used to make letters--wood, iron, rope and even cow dung. Mats nailed to a tree serve as the black board.

Positive Results

Projectors made out of tin cans have carafes filled with water for lenses. Classes are not obligatory, but the interest shown by the authorities has been enough to motivate most of the people. According to the minister of education, some 180,000 Ethiopians are involved in a program which could reach the entire Ethiopian citizenry by June 1980. In Arussi, peasants gathered under a tree, around a teacher, has become a familiar sight. In Addis Ababa, students have made up lists to keep track of attendance. The DERC is able to send the whole country to school, even though the troubled years of 1976-1977 thinned the ranks of the meager intellectual elite formed under the empire.

It looks as though the interregnum which began in 1974 is finally coming to an end. An Ethiopian State is being formed--a State much different from the preceding one and which, contrary to imperial feudalism, defines itself by its concern for social equality. But due to its lack of structures,

communication and consensus, fear is still the surest way to govern. The army does not seem overly willing to share with civilians the power it took 5 years ago. Announced perhaps to satisfy its Soviet ally, the formation of a labor party dominated by the army (LE MONDE, 21 September) does not necessarily mean that a new force will be set in place. Still grappling with serious problems--especially in Eritrea--the military does not seem inclined to share the power it has only just barely acquired.

[7 Nov 79, p 4]

[Text] II. "The Long Road Ahead"

Debre-Zeit. Bordering the air base 30 kilometers south of Addis Ababa, a Center for the Heroes of the Ethiopian Revolution, founded in 1977, houses 750 injured and disabled soldiers. During stays which range from 6 to 18 months, the soldiers learn to reintegrate themselves into society. The large, well-equipped building and grounds which we were shown demonstrates that the army takes care of its own. However, the thing which most revealed the extent of Addis Ababa's war effort was the waiting list: according to one doctor, it has from 3,000 to 5,000 disabled--500 of which are paraplegics.

That is only one example of the human toll taken by the wars being waged in Eritrea and, to a lesser degree, in the Ogaden. Since the fall of the empire in 1974, these two conflicts, combined with a real civil war, have taken tens of thousands of victims. Ethiopia keeps up an army of at least 250,000 men. And tens of thousands of young soldiers are being trained by Cuban instructors in the camp at Tatek, near the capital. In Eritrea, the second revolutionary army of liberation is said to have enlisted no fewer than 120,000 men in the reconquest campaign which has been going on now for 18 months.

Since January 1979, 60,000 Ethiopians are said to have participated, still without success, in an assault against the city and hills of Nakfa, where the EPLE (Eritrean People's Liberation Front) partisans are solidly entrenched. The Nakfa siege illustrates the difficulties encountered by the Ethiopian Army. After the first two tries (January and April), a third attempt was made in June at the demand of the political commissioners--young officers who came up from the ranks--in spite of the command's opposition. Despite their repeated efforts, and the combined support of artillery and air force, the Ethiopians were still held at bay outside Nakfa at the beginning of October. It took all Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu's authority to calm the field officers' discontent.

A Gigantic Effort

In the Ogaden, three Cuban intervention forces are playing the double role of police and deterrent force, fighting resourceful Somali guerillas whose ranks are believed to have been strengthened during the summer. The

Ethiopians were forced to abandon their garrisons in the outer reaches of the low lands triangle which forms what is called the Ogaden. Cuban forces are protecting the section of railroad track which goes from the Djibouti border to Dire Dawa. Another force is stationed at Jijiga, and a third is standing by in the area between Harar and Dire Dawa. This stand-by force was deployed in June on the Somali border, as a screen to stop infiltrators.

These conflicts have many repercussions. They have built up a colossal foreign debt, evaluated at nearly 2 billion American dollars for Soviet military equipment delivered since 1977 alone. The human toll has been enormous: the Nakfa siege is said to have cost 8,000 Ethiopian lives. The reconquest of cities and control of major roads in Eritrea demands a gigantic effort for a regime drained of resources, which has to count on foreign military aid and the human reservoir made up of a population of 30 million inhabitants.

And the problems facing this country are amazingly complicated. The annual per capita income is less than \$100. The literacy campaign launched in July had to be carried out in 5 different languages and, in the second phase, 10 new languages will be introduced. According to Ado Haile Mariam, assistant commissioner for drought relief and rehabilitation, 3 million peasants must be relocated, as their land, especially in the Wollo region, has gone through too many erosion-drought cycles to be productive. Another 3 million are in need of aid. "We have come to the conclusion," he said, "that the lesser of the evils would be to relocate the population." In the first phase, the government plans to transfer 250,000 persons from the Wollo and Tigre to the south--notably to the Bale and Sidamo regions, whose inhabitants cannot help but be somewhat alarmed at the "invasion" which has already begun with the arrival of 22,000 heads of family.

In an area where adequate means of transportation are terribly lacking, the State has only managed to export 80,000 to 90,000 tons of coffee (1979 estimates) out of a production thought to be three times that size. On the other hand, it always imports around 300,000 tons of cereal per year to carry the population through. Donations are practically nonexistent, and the balance of payments is far from balancing. According to Ethiopian estimates, the war in the Ogaden alone has left more than 1 million persons in poverty, due to the loss of 80 percent of their livestock.

The Eritrean Millstone

Economic aid from the socialist allies has not appreciably lightened this burden. On his visit to Addis Ababa in September, Kosygin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, pledged aid to enlarge the Assab refinery and to finance a series of agro-industrial projects. Ethiopia has already concluded some 30 cooperation agreements with its other socialist allies, for a total estimated at less than \$50 million. Moscow granted an \$85 million 12-year loan with an interest of 2.5 percent (\$40 million less than what was offered by the Russians to the former emperor in 1959, for

construction of the Assab refinery). Several hundred Cubans and around 2,000 East German experts are working in various sectors (agriculture, teaching, police services, veterinary services).

But it will take much more aid than that to restore the economy. As indicated by Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu, who was careful, in his latest speeches, not to directly attack NATO and the Western powers, Addis Ababa is counting on more substantial aid from the West. Ethiopian planners have been told to study possibilities for using the \$700 million offered by the EEC. If assistance from the United States and the World Bank remains blocked pending settlement of the 1975 nationalization dispute, other bilateral and international programs (notably that of the UNDP /United Nations Development Program/) are going ahead. It is still not enough to settle the "bill" for the war in Eritrea, where 7 overequipped "intervention forces," composed of several divisions, have been fighting since July 1978, trying to break all armed resistance in this northern province, in rebellion now for 18 years.

In Addis Ababa, all the diplomats are in agreement on one issue: "All Ethiopian chiefs of state, no matter who they are or what their ideology, must refuse to cede Eritrea." Or, again: "The only question on which Mengistu must remain intransigent is Eritrea." This conflict--bequeathed to the Ethiopians by Haile Selassie--has become a millstone around the central government's neck. Ethiopia cannot think of giving up its only access to the Red Sea. With the aid of Sudan, certain Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria) are working to keep the insurrection alive. Since the "Somali menace" in the Ogaden has been scaled down to more modest proportions, only the Eritrean problem makes the Soviet presence indispensable. Despite the "friendship and cooperation treaty" which has bound the two countries since July 1978, Moscow would probably have less of a hold on Addis Ababa if the Eritrean issue were settled. In this hypothesis, the Russians would be less likely to succeed with their idea for a regional federation (Aden, Somalia and Ethiopia), to which they still seem attached.

This conflict, with seemingly no possible political or military solution, is draining all Ethiopia's energy. How much longer can the DERG continue to maintain such a large army, spearheaded by young recruits, and launched against a well-trained, seasoned insurrectionist force? Even on the pan-African level, the Ethiopian military regime can feel its isolation: friendly countries such as Mozambique are openly condemning a military solution in Eritrea. Addis Ababa can always find itself some fair weather friends, such as neighboring Kenya, who is worried about Somali territorial designs. But supporters of the Ethiopian revolution do not extend much beyond the borders of Abyssinia.

The exhibit on the Ethiopian Army, being shown in the capital's National Theater, prominently displays a photograph of Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu, alone, sitting on the threshold of a house in Jijiga in August 1977, just before the city fell to the Somali Army. It was on this day that the Ethiopian chief of state resolved to kill a fleeing colonel, before

being saved himself by a helicopter which picked him up right under the noses of the Somali. Also on this day, he issued an urgent appeal to the Russians to save Ethiopia from territorial disintegration. In the former emperor's office, the young officer can measure the distance covered since that time. The army was not defeated, and Ethiopia was not amputated. The central government's authority has been reestablished and the chains of command are working normally once again. The revolution's darkest, bloodiest hours are past, even though the prisons are still full to bursting. The regime can even be proud of some development programs--in the areas of agriculture and literacy--which are rather exceptional on the African continent. But President Mengistu is right in repeating one of his favorite maxims, written not only in government publications but on walls all over Ethiopia: "We have a long road ahead, and our goal is far away."

11935

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PRESIDENT'S DESIGNATION OF NEW PRIME MINISTER WATCHED

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 22 Oct 79 pp 30-33

[Article by Noel Ebony: "Who will be prime minister? Ivorians are watching for a sign from the 'father of the nation'"]

[Text] The scholastic year began amidst a great hubbub in the Ivory Coast this year. Ivorians were not spared any tribulations in this month of September: increased school fees, room in the primary and secondary schools very hard to find due to the extraordinary boom in education, parental anxiety regarding the uncertainty of their children's future in view of the fact that they are denied additional education having reached "the age limit," etc. To complete the picture the rains never ceased, although the season had ended. It is in this climate that in the morning of 24 September, the Ivorians learned that Bokassa I, the Central African dethroned emperor, has been within the walls of their capital since the previous night.

In fact, the news announced through a communique from the Political Bureau had been floating around since the night before. The observers who had been informed had an inkling of this affair. Such was the case of a foreign radio correspondent who was intrigued by the unusual hour of the Political Bureau meeting.

After the first moment of surprise, amazement rapidly changed to indignation, then to resignation and finally to despairing pessimism. An important businessman who showed no ill-will toward the regime said to me: "To my knowledge, this is the second time* since 1960 that a measure taken by the president has met with such unanimous displeasure against it."

* In 1965 the government had conceived a project aspiring to grant a double nationality status to all subjects belonging to member countries of the Entente living in the Ivory Coast, and reciprocally. This had met with sharp opposition on the part of public opinion.

From Youpougon to Cocody Ivorians are asking the same question: "Why did the 'old man' do this?" However, the "old man" as the Ivorians affectionately call the president has replied to this question or rather has anticipated it. Didn't the communique of the Political Bureau justify the refuge granted to Bokassa by ascribing it as a noble humanitarian gesture? Yet, long before the foreign press could explain that the presence of the dethroned emperor was due to the insistence with which the French chief of state, Valery Giscard d'Estaing had demanded Felix Houphouet-Boigny's agreement, the Ivorians had shut themselves in behind an obstinate refusal, unexpressed but real, to accept the fait accompli.

Having just returned on the day before from Geneva, where he had retired for 3 months, the chief of state had been able to electrify the crowds from the airport to Port Bouet. Vigorously denouncing the fishermen in murky waters and the reports circulating during his absence which were wrongly attributed to the state of his health, he promised that in a short time he would have an important message for the nation. The message for this year was awaited anxiously due to the fact that the rumors on the reason for his prolonged absence had been amplified disquietingly.

Moreover, the tone had been set by Houphouet-Boigny himself, who, upon arrival at the airport, had declared "I am in good shape and ready to serve." Having arrived that morning, he went to the stadium which bears his name that very same afternoon to attend the semi-finals for the national cup opposing Africa [as published] to the ASEC (Association of Comoro Trainees and Students). To insure the success of this "immersion of the crowds" it was decided that admittance would be free. After the match while the common people were congratulating themselves on the state of the president's health, steps were already being taken in anticipation of the arrival and reception for "Bokassa zero," as the former Central African emperor is now called, in the Abidjan suburbs.

Having put a stop to the persistent rumors about his health, the "old man" had hoped to calm the uneasiness which was hanging heavily on the Ivorian political life. But the Bokassa affair was going to start the debates in the drawing rooms again as well as the verbal arguments of the political cliques. However, now that a state of uncertainty is provoking a movement of stagnation among investors, the chief of state finds himself compelled, more than ever, to maintain a flawless credibility to assert his authority.

In fact, the Bokassa episode raises many questions for Ivorians. It is not so much the reception accorded to the dethroned sovereign which is the source of the deeply felt emotion in the country's public opinion; everyone knows of Houphouet-Boigny's compassion when faced with this type of a situation, and few have complained about it up to the present time. But national pride was wounded when the country, right or wrong, attributed Bokassa's welcome to the Ivorian capital to pressures exerted by Paris.

The love-match between Houphouet-Boigny and his people did not begin yesterday. For many years the great majority of the country stood behind its president to defend him against those who, on the outside, dared to question the reality of its independence. This support of a people for its chief

was also a marriage of convenience; the promise of growth, the miracle of buildings springing out of the ground like mushrooms, the birth of a small national middle-class, all this was captivating. Despite the disillusionment provoked by the confiscation of the national assets for the benefit of a greedy and arrogant ruling class, the monetary erosion caused by the rebirth of the world crisis, the corruption and dishonesties, the "old man" was assured of his people's loyalty.

But today a confidence crisis does really exist. No one can deny it. Even though on the surface the climate of the country has not changed; the only manifestations of discontent were the distribution of propaganda leaflets in 1977 and 1978, and the march of the unemployed in 1978. The chief of state himself is aware of the present state of things. As a proof: reinforcement of police control, especially in Cocody where the former Central African monarch is residing at the present time. Other less ostensible measures are being enforced at this time. Meetings are being organized in the various wards on the party structure level. Objective: to record the reasons for the dissatisfaction of the population.

And the people in charge find that the same grievances exist everywhere: shortage of housing, real estate speculation, increase in prices in the so-called African and European type markets, increased unemployment, sanitary services in disrepair, inefficiency of the administration, crisis in urban transportation, insufficient room in the schools, teacher shortage, among others. In addition, a commission was established on the political bureau level. The nucleus of the party received instructions from the president on the subjects which should be examined, namely: cost of living, scholastic problems, etc., and a new subject: the single party system and the primary. These indications give rise to two hypotheses as follows: The chief of staff has decided to take bold measures which, contrary to those of 29 July 1977, will really bring a change in political life and improve the lot of the disadvantaged classes.

By entrusting the Political Bureau with the mission of considering all these questions he wishes perhaps to gain time until 1980, election year and party congress.

However, one should not set aside the hypothesis that the outcome of these reflections must be used for the elaboration of important decisions during the congress, since 1980 seems to be the proper time for such initiatives to be taken. In fact, municipal, legislative and presidential elections will take place during that year. Right now the president of the republic has already let his entourage know that voting will take place in perfect freedom, without intervention from the party and without hindrance. Everything leads us to believe that this promise will be kept, unless something happens unexpectedly. It is said that in 1978 the municipal elections were cancelled because, in the absence of the chief of state, elections could not have been held under proper democratic conditions. This affair had grown to such proportions that at one time it was felt that president Philippe Yace, faithful companion of the "old man," should be disgraced.

True or false, the temporary disappearance from the political scene of Yace, secretary general of the party, had been noted, due possibly to a long illness. He returned only when the Guinean president, Ahmed Sekou Toure, visited Yamoussoukro.

If these elections are held unrestrainedly we will witness the admittance to the party apparatus of a new guard made up of a contingent of a young cadre prancing with impatience at the door of power. This rejuvenation of party personnel will considerably influence the country's orientation. However, we must not have any illusions: this young guard will bring in fresh blood but will certainly not be inclined to give up its privileges. Thus when the president deplores the voracity of these young wolves, few Ivoirians try to contradict him, even in secret, since the spectacle of their wealth so quickly accumulated and so shamelessly displayed, is very offensive.

The hypothesis of a reorganization and remodeling of the internal structures of the party is more plausible than the possibility of a liberalization leading to the creation of a second political party. The members of the Political Bureau already have enough apprehensions on the evolution of the country without suggesting the birth of a party of opposition. However, the crisis which is brewing should encourage them to devise a solution capable of satisfying the demands for harmony and stability in the party. The pretext for political immaturity cannot be used any longer.

At the same time it is difficult to imagine that the stability of a country can be sustained without a democratic introduction, whether it takes place inside the party or outside the party; the best proof is the fever induced regularly by rumors on the state of the president's health, as well as that of the other leaders.

How can this Ivorian propensity to become so alarmed be explained? In fact, everyone is intimately convinced that the life of the country depends almost exclusively on Houphouet-Boigny's strong personality. That is to say that the obsession with the disappearance of the "father of the nation" in addition to the misgivings regarding the future, due to the uncertainty of a political life marked by an exceptional man, gives food for thought as to what will happen "after Houphouet." This problem of succession is not only characteristic of the Ivory Coast. Alas, one day this question will have to be asked, and it will have to be answered: who after him? But also and especially what and what then?

One must not hold it against him if he has dodged this problem. The amended constitution makes provisions in the case of a vacancy in the power, for the president of the national assembly to assume the functions of the chief of state until the current presidential mandate expires, after which elections must be organized. Then why all this hullabaloo?

This amendment had been carried in order to clarify a troubled situation: in 1974-1975 rumors had spread regarding the imminent nomination of Henri Konan Bedie, who was then economic and finance minister, to the position

of prime minister. He seemed adequate for the post of "dauphin" especially since, on his initiative, some of his political friends had created a sort of phantom political committee to promote his ascent, which, however, only lasted one season. Very annoyed Houphouet-Boigny then decided to confirm Yace in the role of successor, and proposed the amendment to the constitution.

However, since the beginning of this year, and following the municipal elections affair the opinion is that Yace's regained authority seems to be declining. Nevertheless, nothing indicates that he has lost all his chances in the doubtful race to the indirect voting," that is to say to the function of prime minister which has just been launched by the president of the republic. Today this is the big question in Abidjan. If it is settled and the president nominates a chief of government, the qualifications of the chief of state's successor could be seriously modified when that day arrives. Thus the idea that Yace is ruled out from the indirect voting due to the fact that he is president of the national assembly, is not pertinent; it is the president of the national assembly who is affected by the amendment and not a nominal person.

For instance, nothing hinders the president of the national assembly to turn his duties over to Jean Baptiste Mockey, state minister in charge of public health, and to pluralize his functions as secretary general of the party with those of prime minister, or to Mathieu Ekra, minister of state in charge of the state societies reform. Moreover, many objective elements militate in favor of these three men; all three were descended from ethnic minorities; they are old companions capable of guiding this change into continuity; finally they are all men with authority and stature.

A lively politician of the old school, high-handed, a trifle exacting, Yace is a party man first. As he is called a nationalist, he collects the adherence of that fraction of the small middle class which is exasperated with the foreign presence. Ekra, the other faithful companion is the man for the delicate jobs, whose firmness the "old man" has often praised. He is also an "apparatchik" [as published] whose spiritual preoccupations have made him a methodical man. Mockey has been in luck after his strenuous crossing of the desert the day after the "plot" of 1963. Many see him in the himicycle of the national assembly.

These three men are descended from southern minorities, and for the sake of balance, president Houphouet-Boigny has rarely surrounded himself with personalities from large ethnic backgrounds. It was concluded, perhaps rather hastily, that for the indirect voting as well as for the change in the presidency of the assembly, the choice would go to one or the other of these three men. They also have a common advantage, that of being militants from the very beginning. But this advantage may turn against them as, for a replacement, the chief of state might perhaps draw someone from a newer and younger generation. Since the elimination of the barons on 20 July 1977, some important figures in the new generation are found scattered within the government; others, on the outside assert themselves through their dynamism and competence.

Six names can be mentioned for the indirect voting among the government members: they are Lamine Fadika, minister of the Navy; Gaston Ouassenan Kone, minister for internal security; Abdoulaye Kone, minister of economics, finance and the plan; Sery Gnolega, minister of commerce; Bra Kanon, minister of agriculture and Paul Akoto Yao, minister of national education. Despite his brilliant qualities, the chances for the last-named are limited due to the continuation of the educational crisis and the Fakhoury affair which was in the news for the past few months. Fadika and Kone, since they come from the north and had some reasons for feeling neglected, have equal chances to see their star shimmer in all its radiance. In addition, both come from the ranks of the army or the gendarmerie.

Guaranteeing stability: The quality of being a military man could be a determining factor as there is a tendency to feel that he will be able to maintain order in the country. It must not be forgotten that a fifth of the prefectorial directorates in the Ivory Coast are secured by the military. Moreover the army directs some civilian sectors of public interest. The feverish activities of some dioula [as published] circles confirm, if it is necessary, the seriousness with which some already view Fadika, Gaston Ouassenan Kone and Abdoulaye Kone as possible candidates for the indirect voting. As for Gnoleba and Bra Kanon, their experience in their respective fields is added to the fact that their accession to such a responsibility would make it possible to reconcile the political power with the irredentism of the Western Bete [as published] group. In spite of the passing of time one has not forgotten that repression did not give us any presents nor any details when it was necessary to end the Gnagbe "secession."

What then? Then we evidently arrive at the one person from whom the idea of indirect voting had originated, Henri Konan Bedie. Strangely enough, a love and hate phenomenon, this man whom many had discredited, today is less isolated than he was 2 years ago, especially among the Ivorian nucleus, and what is more surprising, among the common people to whom he appears as a symbol of a "staggering success." In the business circles his name is synonymous with dynamism and competence. His name is mentioned in the drawing rooms where the game called "Who will be prime minister" is played again. At a recent stop in the Port Bouet airport, Bedie attracted such a tremendous crowd of political partisans that one wonders if this man will not soon succeed in making an unexpected come back. But will he leave his golden retirement in the World Bank and let himself be tempted by the unfaithful political sirens?

While these Abidjanese speculations have little chance of coming true in the near future, they reveal a yearning for clarification and aspiration of the population for a convincing policy. Fishermen in murky waters very seldom fish in clear waters. In short, these rumors can only be laid to rest by putting an end to indecision. The best way to succeed depends entirely on the ability to innovate and the political audacity to produce decisive choices. President Houphouet-Boigny led the Ivory Coast on a course which made this country one of the most dynamic in Africa. Not everything was for the best since not everything is perfectible. But the course has been launched and well launched.

From now on, what the country needs is to obtain a certificate of political maturity and an all-inclusive risk insurance policy against the ceaseless intrigues and troubles which they portend. "Does this charismatic leader, similar to the father of a family, have such fears for the future of his children after he has gone that he has forgotten that they are now adults?" This thought, among others, reflects the climate of his return. Since the "father of the nation" returned in very good shape, Ivorians are watching his every move.

For instance, the move by which Houphouet-Boigny, to complete his national achievement, will give to the country the democratic weapons which will protect it from adventurism and at the same time the means to safeguard its inheritance before it is too late. In short, offer a perspective of a democratic alternative to the Ivory Coast; this is the only guarantee for real stability.

7993

CSO: 4400

TRAORE: ALL SHOULD WORK TOGETHER FOR NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 22 Sep 79 pp 7-10

[Speech by President Moussa Traore: "Message to the Nation by General Moussa Traore on the Occasion of the 19th Anniversary of Mali's Independence--The Immediate Future of the Party Will Depend on the Faith, Dynamism and Abnegation of the Militants and the Officials"]

[Excerpts] Malian men and women,

It was in the fever of the events of 28 February 1978 that we celebrated, last year, the 18th anniversary of our country's accession to independence.

It is indeed a very long road that our people and their Army have just traveled together since the solemn commitment made in the political area by the Military Committee of National Liberation just after the events of 19 November 1968. The objective set--namely, the return to constitutional life, with national reconciliation as a precondition--was especially difficult to achieve.

Having carried out its duty fully by jealously preserving the higher interests of the nation and of the Malian people, the Military Committee of National Liberation stepped aside to make way for the new institutions, as it had pledged to do, with legitimate satisfaction in its duty accomplished.

But this happy outcome should constitute for each of us only a beginning, for by achieving this return to constitutional life, we have turned one page in our country's history to go on to another. The coming municipal elections, for example, are proof of this.

We must devote ourselves at this time to giving life to each of our institutions, to making them function with maximum effectiveness.

The Party in particular must now get all of its activities going, in all its mechanisms and all its units.

The Party, destined to be the crucible of all the active forces of the country, the catalyst and the moving force, must above all strive to educate, to mobilize, to bring together.

The officials responsible, at all levels, for ensuring the life of the Party will have to do everything they can to keep the Party from losing contact with its rank and file; for if it did, it would gradually fall into a paralyzing isolation which would inevitably and very rapidly be fatal for it.

Likewise, as I have already stressed at the sessions of the Constitutional Congress of the Democratic Union of the Malian People, the Party and the administration, both of which serve the same cause, must maintain the soundest, most trusting, and most forthright relations.

And to do this, it is necessary for the Party and the administration to know how to stay within the frameworks that have been drawn for them and to move within the limits of their sphere of action.

They must know how to keep from encroaching on the duties and competencies of the other, while at the same time collaborating in the most frank, open and forthright manner. And if disputes arise, both of them must strive to settle them with understanding and dialogue. In a word, the Party and the administration must learn to coexist in the most harmonious manner. This is the price of social peace, effectiveness and progress.

Finally, one must understand that the coming period will be decisive for our Party, whose immediate future will depend on the faith, dynamism and abnegation which we will be capable of showing, each of us, as militants and as officials.

In any case, the Democratic Union of the Malian People is at the service of our people. It is up to us alone for it to be able to serve them with total effectiveness.

I would like to conclude this balance-sheet by speaking to you, dear compatriots, about our state sector.

The fragility of this sector, to which we all attach special interest, has taken on, it must be said, new dimensions under the joint effects of the persistent world inflation and the poor rainfall of 1978.

The fact is that the state industrial sector, whose role in the valorization of our agricultural products is especially important, has suffered the repercussions both of this poor rainfall and of the semifailure of the preceding marketing seasons, especially as regards peanuts.

Despite everything, it can be said in an overall way that the state sector, with, in 1978, a turnover of more than 100 billion Malian francs, a wage mass of more than 8 billion, and a work force of more than 13,000, has played a large role in the economic and social development of our country.

However, some serious insufficiencies remain in this sector, which is continuing to experience especially difficult growth.

This is why the restructuring and reorganization work begun by the government must be continued and intensified at all costs.

In any case, we will not allow the state companies and enterprises to become a burden for the people. It is absolutely necessary for them to be able to make a high-quality contribution to the development of our country. The government, for its part, is determined to work in this direction.

Malian men and women,

Our concern, our main objective, is to ensure the achievement in our country of both true democracy and an equally shared prosperity, to build a just and unified society, within which all Malian men and women will enjoy the same right, will be subject to the same laws, and will help one another.

But in order for so ambitious and also no noble an objective to be achieved, it is indispensable for everyone to be able, by his daily attitude, to contribute to it.

Thus, when we take on responsibilities of any kind, we must show rigor, firmness and sense of responsibility, mainly by eliminating from our behavior any tendency to complacency, which can only lead to abandon, carelessness and unawareness, by refusing to be the accomplice of any other person who, in one way or another, does his work poorly.

Complacency in an official is the source of many evils. With complacency, there is neither application nor seriousness nor work well done.

But only work--and work well done--can enable us to assure our development.

This expresses how necessary it is for every official, whenever he must, to exercise his responsibility toward cheaters, lazy persons, the incompetent and thieves, and to help extirpate them from our ranks.

It is likewise necessary for Malian men and women to develop a sharp sense of the state--that is, the citizen's solidarity with the state. In other words, it is necessary for each of us to be able to identify with the state, to equate ourselves with the state, for each of us to realize that the state is the citizen, that by defending the interests and honor of the state or letting them be thwarted, it is our own interests and honor that we are defending or allowing to be thwarted.

The goods of the state are also in effect the goods of the citizen, for it is he who, by the tax that he pays or by any other form of contribution, participates directly in constituting them.

Thus, each of us should set himself the duty of helping the state to combat all those who by dishonesty, negligence, incompetence or any other culpable behavior does harm to its goods.

This is a very important matter, and one which each of us should be clearly aware of. The cause of the state will thereby be better understood and better defended.

11267
CSO: 4400

USE OF LIGHTENING AGENTS THREAT TO NEGRITUDE CONCEPT

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 28 Sep 79 p 6

[Article by Saouti: "Negritude and Identity: the Case of Xhessal"]

[Text] Negritude--an anachronism? If it were, one would not understand why the immense armada of intellectuals deployed at the beginning of the 1960's with the declared intention of annihilating it and erasing it forever from the memory of men is reduced today to a handful of inglorious litterateurs who work themselves to death vainly trying to present it as a "warhorse of neocolonialism."

It is indeed this striking fact of defection by its detractors that has led Mr Senghor, one of its fathers, to say that "the fight against negritude has ceased for lack of fighters." I say that one should rejoice in this. For assuredly, if negritude had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent it--especially in our day, when the culture of the black man, whether he is in Africa or the Antilles, is prey to a wasting-away which, if it continues at the present rate, runs a strong risk of ending in catastrophe. By which one should understand the loss of all identity, of the "me" that distinguishes me, that differentiates me from others.

One of the symptoms of this cultural ruin that lies in wait for the Negro and threatens to make him an eternal "damned of the earth" is the skin depigmentation that is presently fashionable, to make the skin lighter, not to say "white."

This is done by chemical products, made in a laboratory, of course, but usually clandestinely. These products, after devastating the black community in America some 20 years ago, broke on Africa at the beginning of this decade.

It is in Zaire that they first came to notice, and where the women are not the only ones to use them in order to please: the male brethren took them up in turn. For more and more young women disdain "black-complexioned" men. Or if they accept them, it is very often because of their social position.

The virus of depigmentation next gripped Nigeria, where it proliferated to the point of contaminating all the other countries of the subregion: Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Togo, Gambia, Senegal.

Mali is its latest victim. Xhessal (the Wolof term for these products) has made its appearance in our country in a manner that is still timid. But the warm welcome it has received from our "top young ladies" is hardly reassuring. This is why the authorities should react promptly before we find ourselves in the uncomfortable position of our neighbors to the west, who periodically have to wage a "war against xhessal" in order to wipe it out. The scourge's routes of penetration are known: the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Its carriers are also known: the retailers (most of them smugglers, for that matter) of Place du Souvenir.

Vigorous reaction is all the more necessary because in addition to its tragic cultural consequences, xhessal is harmful to the health of the person who uses it.

Mr Senghor likes to say that "most of our African problems are of a cultural nature." The use of xhessal is one more proof of this. Since negritude has the task of culturally rehabilitating our peoples, long scorned and considered a pack of subhumans who know only the language of the cudgel, it is not about to die tomorrow. To merely decree it, or to hope for it only under cover of fallacious political pretexts, is surely to commit an unpardonable sin against the Negro race.

11267
CSO: 4400

PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON CROPS, ELECTRIC POWER

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 15 Oct 79 pp 4-5

[Text] It should first be noted that trips such as this one are a matter of practice for us. Each year in October we take such a trip, the purpose of which is to observe the agricultural and livestock situation, department by department. We also take stock of the food supplies, region by region and make recommendations especially to local authorities and the traditional leaders.

We will begin with an assessment of the livestock and crops which are now about to be harvested. In terms of the agricultural season in 1979-1980 the country experienced a normal winter over almost all of our territory. The first useful rains registered in the departments of Dosso and Niamey were in the beginning of the month of May, in Maradi at the end of May. In Tahoua and Zinder they fell in the second half of May and early June. The first useful rains did not fall in Diffa until the first half of June.

The rainfall was satisfactory until the end of July, which allowed for a natural growth. However, during the first half of August there were interruptions which produced dry areas here and there. In some areas this had a noticeable effect on the normal pastureland growth. Aside from these dry periods, we can say that the season progressed satisfactorily up to the harvest period in certain regions. Another characteristic affecting the growing season of 1979 was the small instance of grass-hoppers, beetles and even plant lice. Thanks to the appropriate departments taking immediate and vigorous action, the problem was under control quickly. However, in certain regions some of the predators jeopardized the crops.

The lack of labor we experienced last year has increased this year and there are not 36 million solutions. The state must encourage the changing of agricultural methods with the introduction and even general use of work animals and even mechanized farming. We must wait until Tuesday morning for the facts concerning the department of Niamey. The situation in the other four agricultural departments (Dosso, Maradi, Zinder and Tahoua) allows us to state cautiously that the total Niger season for 1979 has been even

better than 1978 and this augurs well for 1980. Contrary to previous years we have profited from an evenly distributed rainfall, in spite of interruptions. Also in contrast to other years, productive zones have not been limited to certain regions in the departments. On the whole, we estimate the needs of the population in the six departments for 1980 to be 1.012 million tons. Whereas production is estimated at 1.032 million tons. The difference is more than 19,000 tons. A fact to note: the department of Agadez is not productive. A department primarily devoted to raising livestock, Agadez's population needs some 27,000 tons. In Diffa both livestock and farming are carried on but there is a nomadic population in the north. This department's needs are estimated at about 12,000 tons. In Tahoua needs are also estimated at 27,000 tons. I can also tell you that there has been a definite improvement in the surplus provided by Dosso, Maradi and Zinder. These extras will fill the needs of the nomads and the sedentary population. It should be noted that Zinder has tripled its surplus production, and that Dosso and Maradi have practically doubled theirs in comparison to last year. Although totals for Diffa and Tahoua were deficient, they have cut the deficit in half in comparison to last year. From these results we can see that from this point Niger is headed for self-sufficiency in food for 1980. But here we must note one fact: these figures refer to millet and sorghum which constitute the basis of our people's diet. We must note that drought has brought about a change in culinary methods and we are increasing our consumption of rice. Our effort toward self-sufficiency does not mean that Niger will not continue to import food stuffs, especially rice. We must not forget that Niamey commune itself will need close to 54,000 tons in 1980. Paradoxically, this figure is based on millet/sorghum, whereas urban centers such as Niamey, Dosso, Maradi, Zinder, Tahoua, Agadez and even Diffa are beginning to consume large quantities of rice. Taking one year with another, Niger will continue to import rice. This is especially true, since the traditional rice crops from which we expected exceptional results were ruined by the rising waters of the river.

Let us trace agricultural development from 1974 to 1979. In 1974 the nation's own supplies provided for only about 28 to 30 percent of the population's needs. In 1975 we registered a deficit of some 150,000 tons. During the agricultural season of 1976-1977 Niger registered a deficit of some 100,000 tons. In 1977-1978 this deficit was cut in half and we were lacking about 50,000 tons. During the 1978 season we might have reached a balance if population growth had not caused a supplementary need for some 30,000 to 40,000 tons. We felt the effects immediately, especially since very few of the countries friendly to us responded to Niger's appeals for help with this deficit. And I ask Nigerians to remember that in order to compensate for this 30,000 ton deficit we had to purchase not only rice, but to spend some 1.3 million francs in order to import sorghum.

In 48 hours we will be able to assure you that in 1980 we will be able to attain self-sufficiency. Even if there is a deficit it will be a minor and negligible one, thank God. We must praise, here and there, the efforts

sustained by our field staff. However, we must not adopt the sort of optimism which might lead us to laziness. Now more than ever we must demonstrate courage and the ability to sacrifice and persevere, because the problem of hunger in the Third World, and especially in the countries of the Sahel, is far from overcome. We must all take part in this struggle because this food is essential to the survival of the Niger population. The security of our country depends and will depend on agriculture, whether or not we want it to. As for other products, the phenomena of rust and plant lice and even the quality of seeds caused the Niger farmers to reduce the area for cultivation of peanuts. Paradoxically, 1979 was an exceptional year for the peanut. This means that with the reduction of area used to grow peanuts our production will be roughly equal to that of 1978. We are recording progress in the production of niebe [a leguminous plant]. We are preparing to market it because it has become a profitable crop. As in 1977 or 1978, Nigerois must eat more niebe because the assessment of foods for the Niger people which I have just presented is based only on millet and sorghum. Our farmers have most certainly profited from previous years' experiences with cotton. We are recording a continuing reduction in production, which no longer covers our national need. It is just enough to continue the operation of SONITEXTIL. Despite the interruptions in rainfall noted in the first half of August, there was nevertheless enough balanced rainfall which supported growth of pastureland varying from one region to the next. There are obviously deficient areas especially in the department of Tahoua. However, we are waiting for an exhaustive assessment of the situation to be made so that we can provide the necessary complement of feed for the region's livestock. Unfortunately, these pasturelands cannot be rationally exploited because the water ponds are not permanent and because there are no wells or drill-holes.

We have also made some suggestions on this trip. We spoke about brush fires and the need to guard and jealously preserve the sparse vegetation in various regions. Another recommendation that I made concerned the distribution in surplus zones. In 1978 the traditional chieftans controlled this distribution. This year we insist that it be handled conjointly by the chieftans and the area cooperatives. Everywhere I went I warned that abundance must not lead to waste. In Niger it is a fact that an abundant year is a wasteful one.

Our grains must be stored in regions where there is a surplus and in other areas because no one knows what tomorrow will bring.

We also recommended that the financial resources at the disposal of the collectives be put to better use. The government's 1980 financial law sets aside a sum of nearly 600 million for the collectives. The funds are designated for the cooperatives' welfare.

As usual we could not travel around the countryside without inspecting the progress of various projects. The truth must not be hidden. Schools are having problems either with attendance or buildings. Here and there we gave instructions to solve the problems. Also, we noted that the students were becoming more aware, more mature.

It is quite disappointing to see that planned health facilities are not completed. I believe it was in Agadez that I said that Niger is alarmingly short of surgeons. In Tahoua I found it necessary to say that I am convinced that the activities of certain companies and offices border on actual sabotage. From Maradi to Dosso, wherever the people spoke to us they asked for three things: water, roads and health services. In 1977 wells were planned to serve both men and livestock, our second most valuable resource. It is disappointing to see that one-tenth of these wells are still not completed in Agadez and Tahoua.

In March or April of 1981 SONICAR [Niger Coal Company of Anou Araran] will produce its first kilowatt-hour. This is the only excuse for NIGELEC [Niger Electric Company]. The company does not want to make investments in Agadez or Tahoua. Any investment would quickly show a profit because of the increased use of electricity. If we must make a general conclusion there is improvement over the 1978 season. Let us applaud the courage and perseverance of our hard-working farmers.

In reality, there are some disappointments. But there are also compensations, in the attitude and actions of the population as a whole and the authorities, who must not all be lumped together. Disappointments, a year, day by day. The Diffa project located at CBLT [Lake Chad Basin Commission] has experienced setbacks and we had to provide national funds. It is disappointing to note that a few days after the beginning of the agricultural season, the delivery of motorized pumps was not completed. I am referring to the distribution process. During the June trip we said that we must change our procedures. One person in Niamey cannot by himself be in charge of all the supplies in the area of education, especially when he is merely a contractor.

The case of the table-benches and the mattresses needs no further comment.

Here and there one notes certain attitudes on the part of administrative authorities. Authorities on all levels must attempt to resolve problems at their own levels, God knows they can solve them there, before appealing to national authorities. Far be it from me to say that all problems can find solutions at the regional level.

Let me use as an example Belgian aid received for the creation of health facilities. How can I explain it? I see no arguments which will convince me. In 1977 Belgium put a sum at our disposal for the construction of a social-welfare-medical center. This morning when I was traveling through Dosso, 140 km from Niamey, I was asked some questions about procedures for

the foundation. Considering the rate of inflation, Niger will have to pay for the additional construction expenses. Things must be done quickly and well, whether it is the construction of a prefect's residence or a village clinic of the PMI [expansion unknown]. We have succeeded in putting models and examples on paper, two years for a simple health facility. In Niger at the present we cannot put forth questions of procedure. We have said on many occasions that we have inherited an administration which needs to be reformed in order for it to respond to our developmental needs. When the state has been able to set aside the necessary funds, procedural questions must not be allowed to impede completion of a structure, especially where health and water are concerned. Perhaps more than anything else we have done we have tried to simplify the administration. However, even now there are Nigerois who do not know or try to understand that the Niger of 1979 and even 1980 is not the same as 1963, 1973 and even 1976. Things are happening quickly and development is something which continues to accelerate in rhythm with current times.

9161

CSO: 4400

RISCO SELF-SUFFICIENCY DESCRIBED

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 23 Nov 79 p 9

[Text] Risco's engineers and maintenance men are likely to find the lifting of sanctions something of an anti-climax.

For so many years they have been used to improvising and modifying equipment and spares normally purchased on the open market.

Like so many Zimbabwe Rhodesian companies, Risco, the country's steel producer, has gained positive benefits from restraints imposed by sanctions.

There is little the company cannot now tackle compared with the years before UDI, be it the design of a replacement part or piece of equipment; the fabrication of that equipment or its installation.

It is true to say that only the most sophisticated equipment or machinery is beyond them and the local manufacturers who are sometimes called in to assist.

Do it yourself has rarely had greater meaning than in this country in the days of sanctions.

In recent years Risco's engineering and technical staff have successfully tackled projects that would often have had them calling for assistance in former years.

The successful completion of these projects are a credit to the professionalism and ingenuity of Risco staff and the local manufacturers and contractors that have often dictated that some projects should be almost entirely handled by Risco staff, and they have contributed greatly to the company's efforts to keep galloping inflation within reasonable bounds.

The skills and experience gained in recent years will continue to benefit Risco even after the economic curtain is lifted.

There will be less reliance on imported equipment or expertise, although both will undoubtedly be welcomed when absolutely necessary.

Three projects completed this year prove just how far Risco staff have moved along the road to self-reliance.

These were the major overhaul of the No. 4 blast furnace, the company's largest; the rebuilding of the benzole plant; and the commissioning of a new coal processing plant.

The overhaul and modification of the blast furnace was one of the biggest jobs undertaken at the Redcliff steelworks. It took 80 days and was completed in mid-June.

Although specialist contractors were involved, the greater part of the work was carried out by the steel company's own staff.

Among modifications carried out to the 43-metre-high furnace were the installation of a better water cooling system around the furnace stack and improvements to the massive pipes carrying the hot air and gas that help fuel the furnace.

One invaluable aid during the overhaul was a special platform, built at Risco's own workshops, that was used to carry teams of men who first demolished the furnace's brick lining and then rebuilt it. The platform was so designed that it could be adjusted to operate within the varying widths of the furnace shell. Previous platforms of this type were erected and dismantled inside the furnace, using up valuable time.

Another Risco engineering success has had a vital influence on the country's fuel procurement programme. This was the rebuilding of the benzole plant at a cost of about \$440 000.

The plant, part of the by-products plant attached to Risco's coke ovens department, was overhauled and modified after being out of action for four years.

During rebuilding, a number of improvements were made to the plant to raise its operating efficiency. Among them were the installation of new water coolers and modification of the heat exchangers to improve flow rates. Much of the original steam-driven equipment was replaced by electric motors.

The rebuilding of the benzole plant was supervised by Risco's projects and developments team, working with coke ovens staff and assisted by contractors.

Recently, a new coal processing system was introduced at the steelworks to produce coke more suited to the blast furnaces.

The new, selective screening system replaced the old, once-through method of getting coking coal down to the most suitable size before charging to the coke ovens.

This system cost about \$300 000 to put in. The installation was carried out by contractors, but Risco staff were closely concerned and a pulveriser used in the new process was fabricated in the company's own workshops.

CSO: 4420

NEW WELDING ELECTRODE DEVELOPED BY OXYCO

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 23 Nov 79 p 11

[Text] A combined research and experimental project by the staff of the Electrode Factory in Gwelo and the Sales and Technical Services Department in Salisbury have enabled Oxygen Industries to produce a new and improved "Ferron 1" arc welding electrode.

Electrode flux formulation is extremely sensitive, even if one ingredient is varied. It is indicative of the volume of background work that went into the production of the new "Ferron 1" when it is considered that there are no less than 14 ingredients in the flux of this electrode. Ingredient changes not only effect the characteristics of the slag, but they also have a large bearing on the weld metal viscosity, itself dependent upon slag viscosity and wetting ability.

The new electrode, which is suitable for A.C. or D.D. usage, shows an excellent bead profile of weld deposits as just one of its improvements. Generally considered more difficult to use than the normal rutile type of electrode, basic low hydrogen electrodes such as Ferron 1 often have a 'stiff' arc, sluggish slag and high spatter. The new electrode embraces the best of the attributes of the rutile electrode and the added advantages of the low hydrogen electrode all in the same product. To enumerate, slag detachability is excellent, welding speeds are increased, radiographic qualities are rated as Grade One, and the test figures for impact values, tensile strength and reduction of weld area are all excellent.

In terms of national economic strength, manufacturers of pressure vessels, boilers, armoured vehicles and structural steel fabrications can all benefit considerably from this local product, as can indeed mining and industry as a whole.

CSO: 4420

LATE IBRAHIM NIASS'S LETTER DENOUNCES AHMED NIASS

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 10-11 Nov 79 pp 1, 4

[Article by Cherif Baba Aidara: "...Neither My Son Nor My Disciple...the Late El Hadj Ibrahima Niass Wrote in 1973 on the Subject of Ahmadou ("Ahmed") Niass"]

[Text] The late Ibrahima Niass knew him well, who when he was alive wrote a letter (see below) to all the sovereigns, chiefs of states and traditional chiefs to warn them against the efforts to commit a breach of trust made by Ahmed Niass in Africa and Arabia..., knew him well.

El Hadj Ibrahima Niass Chek El Islam's Letter

Excellency,

I have just been informed that the man called Ahmadou Niass is traveling (abroad) and is passing himself off everywhere as my own son before sovereigns, chiefs of state and heads of government.

This man of dubious morality, devoid of any culture, (either) as to dogma or spiritual matters, and who does not burden himself with any scruples to achieve his ends, is thus managing to obtain honors and hospitality and, in addition, a more dangerous thing, has himself granted the same trust lavished upon the members of my family.

The fact of misusing the family name, which we have in common, to usurp the prerogatives enjoyed by the members of my family and certain dignitaries among my disciples is an obvious proof of his bad faith and reveals his dishonest intentions.

That is why I am taking the liberty of approaching you very respectfully to warn you against his attempts to deceive you.

Ahmadou Niass, the one in question, is not my son nor my disciple has never been subject to my authority.

I must tell you that he never informed me of his plans to travel to your respective states nor did he ask recommendations addressed to you in that connection.

This therefore tells you that this man, Ahmadou Niass, is not authorized to speak nor to act in my name and even less to pose as my own son.

I do not say that he is not one of the descendants of a member of my family, which is a rather large one, but some of my own children are with me in Kaolack, others at Islamic schools and universities as I have ordered. And wherever they may be, they are subject to my authority and respect the principles of Islam and of honor.

With this clarification intended to eliminate any doubts, please accept, Excellency my very respectful greetings and the assurance of my very high esteem.

"A man of dubious morality, devoid of any culture both as to dogma and spiritual matters and who does not burden himself with any scruples to attain his goal" the above description of Ahmed Niass appears more convincing to us in the light of the statements he made recently in Paris.

In Senegal no one was unaware of what that goal was. Money, still more money. Through repeated acts of deception, Ahmed Niass was to get some easily. Resorting to the family name of the holy man, Ibrahima Niass, sovereigns, chiefs of state and heads of government of Arabia and Africa, were to be his initial victims. He was not lacking in nerve. Wearing a turban to good effect, honor and hospitality were due him, mystical trust even more so. In short, he was the "son" of El Hadj Ibrahima Niassa and because of that, he could do anything.

Those profitable trips to Arabia and Africa very quickly gave him the habit and the taste, even the vice, of displaying millions of francs. But he could no longer travel because of the warning issued by El Hadj Ibrahima Niass. "...That man, Ahmed Niass, is not authorized to speak nor act in my name and even less to pass himself off as my son."

The source having dried up in that direction, Ahmed Niass turned once more to the Senegalese religious students of El Hadj Ibrahima Niass. Not to teach them the Koran--isn't he "devoid of any culture either as to dogma or to spiritual matters?," but to manipulate the pilgrims' savings by organizing their trips. Let him win out on the first trip and the trick has come off! In the meantime, another adventure presented itself to him, another source for profit, he thought, with the founding of the opposition's political parties. So it was that from the UPS [Senegalese Progressive Union] he went off to

to the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] which, clearly disappointed, he was to drop to rejoin the PS [Socialist Party]. But there again he was to be let down, the politicians being unable to offer him the millions of francs which chiefs of state and traditional chieftains, friends of the late El Hadj Ibrahima Niass, often gave him.

It was then that Ahmed Niass was to dream up his "Khomeinyism for money" by creating his newspaper. Wealthy with the savings of humble Moslems (peasants and stock raisers), Ahmed Niass was to go to Paris where, residing at the Georges V Hotel, it would be easy for him to say what he wanted to provided that it brought him still more money, ever more money.

Can such a man expect to found an Islamic government? Wouldn't he be the first victim because of "his lack of scruples to achieve his ends?"

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CSO: 4400

NEED TO REGISTER, VOTE IN ELECTIONS FOR COUNCILLORS NOTED

Dar es Salaam UHURU in Swahili 30 Nov 79 p 6

[Editorial: "Our Views"]

[Text] Reports have been obtained which do not make the initial tasks relating to the elections of city councillors, which will be held next January, look promising. In accordance with reports which reached the Office of the Prime Minister up to yesterday, not many people had registered for these elections up to the time these reports were sent.

Even the number of reports which had been sent up to yesterday are not encouraging. According to the assistant commissioner for cities in the Office of the Prime Minister, B. A. Nchimbi, out of 15 cities, which will hold elections for councillors, only nine had sent reports up to yesterday.

Concerning the success of the voters' registration campaign, these reports have shown that only one city in Mtwara Region has already registered 60 percent of all the people who were expected to be registered in this city. As a result of these conditions, the period for voters' registration has been extended to 8 December.

When the government announced the schedule of elections for councillors, it set a beginning date for every step in these elections and provided a sufficient period for each step. It is not a good sign that the period of voter registration is coming to an end without this work being even partly successful.

But, participation by many citizens of the cities in the election of councillors is a basic matter. The city councils which will be elected will have the responsibilities for directing the development of the cities. These responsibilities include seeing that the citizens in the cities are provided with various services.

So that these city councils may be able to fulfill these responsibilities, it is necessary first to obtain councillors with the ability to give guarantees and second they must be people who express the aspirations

of the people and not their personal aspirations. It is the citizens themselves who know good people who will be able to represent them in the city councils. This means that it is important for many citizens to take part in the election of councillors.

As a result of this fact, the government has decided to extend the period for registering voters. Now, along with continuing other work which was scheduled before, people will be able to register to vote up to 8 December.

We expect that the citizens in all 15 cities concerned will use these additional weeks to volunteer to register in large numbers. We citizens must understand that the election of councillors is our right and that to fail to register to vote is to repress this right.

Citizens in various cities have complained about the poor quality and lack of some services. The decision to restore city councils was made so that there would be good tools of implementation to provide for the citizens services which they have expressed complaints about. To obtain these tools we must register and later vote to elect councillors.

The poor performance which has been apparent in registering voters shows also that things are not going straightforwardly in conducting election tasks in various cities. We hope that the authorities concerned now will work more energetically so that our elections for councillor may be successful.

CSO: 4407

DISMISSAL OF SEVENTEEN PARTY LEADERS ANNOUNCED

Dar es Salaam MZALENDU in Swahili 25 Nov 79 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Views"]

[Text] The step of the party which was announced this week after the sessions of the central committee and national executive committee held in Zanzibar, namely that 17 leaders of the Revolutionary Party [CCM] in Kigoma Region have been dismissed from leadership, possibly has caused some of the CCM members to ask themselves some questions.

But, if it is made clear to the CCM members what the statutes of their party say concerning the character of a member and leader, and they are given explanations by the executive secretary general of the CCM, Pius Msekwa, concerning the dismissal from leadership of these 17 people, we believe that every member will understand that the party's step was necessary.

The party's statutes require every leader to fulfill the obligations of membership. Among these obligations are the stipulation that a person like to cooperate with his colleagues; that he be always in the forefront in implementing all matters pertaining to the masses, according to the party's directives; and that he be at all times an example of good conduct in word and deed.

The party statutes also require a leader "to be a person who likes to spread the fruits of independence to all the citizens for their benefit and for the development of the nation in general" and "it is forbidden for a leader to use the responsibilities he has been given for his personal benefit, or for favoritism, or in any way at all which is contrary to the intended goal of these responsibilities."

As a result of the investigation held by the party in Kigoma Region, it is obvious that the 17 people who were dismissed from leadership violated the obligations of leadership and have not demonstrated the character which they are required to have as leaders of the CCM. The evidence of this fact consists of the conduct and actions of these leaders during the struggle to combat cholera in this region.

When cholera occurred in Kigoma Region, the leaders of the regional government took the steps necessary to combat this bad disease which kills people rapidly and in considerable numbers. The steps and procedures used in Kigoma did not differ from those used in other places in the country where this disease broke out.

But these 17 leaders did not agree to these procedures, and refused to cooperate with the other leaders of the party and government in the effort to combat cholera. This is not a small matter. Its meaning is that these leaders refused to carry out their responsibility as leaders of the party. Also it is not a small responsibility, it is a responsibility which concerned saving the lives of the citizens.

Many leaders among them not only refused to fulfill their responsibility but engaged in actions showing a lack of discipline by lowering the party banner at their branches with the claim that they would not take part in the effort to combat cholera when it broke out in this region.

But when a leader sees that he has been left behind in some important national matter, what reason is there to cause lack of discipline? When a leader lowers the party banner at his branch because only of a lack of agreement with other people how does he demonstrate he does not despise the party?

The statutes make clear the fact that the CCM "will be the party having final responsibility in all matters pertaining to the regulations of the statutes." One person or a group of people is unable to usurp these responsibilities of the party only because they do not agree with some matters.

If this is not sufficient, in our party there is a procedure for resolving problems. There are sessions of various levels where leaders and citizens can meet and discuss various matters and seek the correct solution.

In the CCM no member has more right than another to do what he likes. Every member and every leader must comply with the party statutes and he who does not comply is unsuitable to remain as a member or leader.

The step of the party in dismissing from leadership 17 people in Kigoma is not a threat to any member at all. It is a step to correct mistakes in accordance with the foundations laid down by the statutes. It is a step to ensure that our party has true members and leaders who fulfill all obligations laid down by the statutes. It is a step which strengthens discipline in the party.

Because, our party is a revolutionary party it is not a party of lelemama [Translation unknown]. No one will be permitted to waste time.

CSO: 4407

KAUNDA TELLS STUDENTS OF MOVE TO PRODUCE ARMS

Fight Against Capitalism

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 23 Nov 79 p 1

[Text]

ZAMBIA will soon start manufacturing her own weapons, President Kaunda announced yesterday.

And with that he scoffed at this week's warning by Rhodesian puppet prime minister Abel Muzorewa that even if Zambia obtained military assistance from outside, Salisbury could hit Lusaka "ten minutes harder."

Dr Kaunda said: "Although the enemy is busy developing atomic weapons, they are too late now. They are useless because the war will not start from South Africa. We shall only go there probably as helpers."

The President was addressing about 50,000 Lusaka youths — including students from institutions of learning — who demonstrated their support for the war measures he announced on Tuesday to counter enemy activities in Zambia.

"We are going to fight tooth and nail because ours is a just struggle. No amount of killing or destruction can daunt the people of Zambia.

You can shoot Kaunda dead on the streets of Lusaka, but the war will continue," he said.

"They killed Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique but (Samora) Machel carried the struggle on until the country was liberated. The settlers occupied Kenya, Nigeria, Angola and Mozambique for 500 years. Are they there today? They went packing.

"Now the fight is hotting up in Rhodesia, but victory will come to the oppressed.

"The enemy is wasting time because capitalism will be destroyed. There is going to be only one grave in southern Africa, and that is for racism, capitalism, oppression, imperialism and apartheid."

Elaborating on the manufacture of weapons, Dr Kaunda said that would start some time next year.

The youths demanded that they be given arms as they were prepared to go and fight against the rebel forces.

Mobilised

Dr Kaunda said when Zambia started making her own weapons all students in schools, colleges and at the university would be mobilised and would have guns.

He said the Party and its Government were doing everything possible to mobilise resources from friendly countries.

"We are also mobilising resources. As guns become available, we will tell you to get enrolled. A time will come when every factory in Zambia and schools, as well as colleges, will have guns so that when I blow the whistle, everybody will be able to respond."

The youths had marched from the High Court to State House chanting: "Give us guns. We want war. One man one gun, we want war."

Dr Kaunda said Africa, was also fighting against poverty with its off-shoots of hunger, disease, ignorance and exploitation of man by man. "That is our socialism programme."

He told the demonstrators in the presence of Party Secretary-General, Mr Mainza Chona, Chairman of Defence and Security, Mr Grey Zulu, Mrs Betty Kaunda and several members of the Central Committee and ministers that the enemy who was killing Zambians and damaging their bridges was afraid of such programme.

He was prepared to die fighting in defence of the nation. Even his children who were studying, including the eldest son, Panji, had responded to his mobilisation call, he said.

Describing the British as "incredible," the President warned that relations between Britain and Zambia would remain sour until the Conservative government put this thing right.

He asked the youths: "Can you accept the explanation that what Muzorewa, Smith and Walls are doing to us is without the knowledge of the

British government?" to which the youths replied in unison: "No No. They know."

He further accused the British of trying to rush the ceasefire negotiations in favour of the Muzorewa regime in order to maintain the status quo in Rhodesia because of their economic vested interests in the colony.

In fact, Dr Kaunda revealed, the husband of British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, was a director of an oil company which continued supplying oil to Rhodesia during the sanctions period until 1976.

And the current British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, who is chairman of the Rhodesian conference at Lancaster House in London, still owned an oil company which controlled diamonds and other minerals "all over Namibia".

Contained

This information was contained in the latest book published in London entitled:

Oilgate. "I did not write the book," Dr Kaunda said.

He attacked British high commissioner to Zambia, Sir Leonard Allinson for answering him a few minutes after the Tuesday conference to exonerate his country from the blame that it was responsible for the attacks on Zambia by Rhodesian commandos.

The diplomat was "cheeky and insolent" because when Dr Kaunda accused Britain of complicity in the attacks he was speaking as President of the Republic of Zambia, and therefore on behalf of the nation not as Kaunda.

Sir Leonard cancelled a visit to Ndola organised for him for Wednesday.

A British high commission spokesman claimed later that the youths had pulled down the Union Jack and was retrieved from them by police.

The spokesman denied the youths had presented a petition to Sir Leonard.

Racism-Capitalism Inseparable

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 23 Nov 79 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

SOME may see only a tenuous connection between Zambia's fight against the racists in Salisbury and Pretoria and her struggle against capitalism.

Yet the two are virtually inseparable. The West has allied itself with the racists because they share an ideology, capitalism.

Lord Carrington, Mrs Thatcher, Ian Smith and Abel Muzorewa are fighting

against a Patriotic Front government in Zimbabwe, for the same reason — they want to preserve capitalism.

The Americans helped overthrow and kill Salvador Allende in Chile and killed thousands of people in Vietnam on behalf of capitalism. They propped up the murderous regime of the former Shah of Iran in the name of capitalism.

So when President Kaunda speaks of the liberation struggle in the same breath as he speaks of capitalism, Zambians should not wonder; the two are not such strange bedfellows.

When the President speaks of the parastatals being failures because most of the managers were weaned on capitalism, he is not exaggerating either. The evidence is there for all to see.

The managers insist on all the trappings of a capitalist boss; they also insist on the conventional principle of the capitalist credo — the trickle-down syndrome.

This is that the few people who are rich can still help those who are poor by literally letting them pick up the crumbs from their high tables, which are groaning under the weight of all manner of expensive victuals.

The struggle that Zambia waged against the British was based on a reversal of this system; what UNIP wanted and still wants is for all the people to have a reasonable chance to eat three meals a day.

This is the struggle which the Patriotic Front is waging in Zimbabwe, a struggle which has cost many Zimbabwean and Zambian lives. It is a struggle with history on its side.

Never in the history of mankind have a people struggling to regain their birthright against oppression or subjugation ever failed.

Locally, there is an obvious need for Zambia to examine the failure of its parastatal sector, even after the war with the racists has been won.

President Kaunda told the youths at State House yesterday that he was waiting for them to grow up and learn so that they could take over the parastatals and give them a new, socialist direction.

Many of the parastatal chiefs will scoff at this, insisting that they are on the right track.

With High Court bailiffs moving into some of the parastatals, that claim must be subjected to more and more scrutiny by an alarmed public.

ZAMBIA

BRIEFS

CHAMBESHI PONTOON OPENED--The Kasama-Mpika road opened to traffic yesterday following the commissioning of a new pontoon over Chambeshi river by Northern Province political secretary Miss Esther Banda. The pontoon has been constructed following the blowing up of both the railway and road bridges by Rhodesian commandos last month. [Text] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 23 Nov 79 p 1]

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